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*Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa to the history of the Brāhmaṇa literature.*—By HANNS OERTEL, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

**Fifth Series:<sup>1</sup> I. Indra in the guise of a woman (JB. ii. 78).**

IN the subrahmaṇyā ceremony (Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur* (1897), p. 127 with note<sup>18</sup> on p. 134; *Vedische Mythologie*, iii (1902), p. 209 with note<sup>4</sup>) Indra is, inter alia, invoked as vṛṣaṇaśvasya mene. The great antiquity of the formula is attested by RV. i. 51. 13, which quotes ménā 'bhavo vṛṣaṇaśvasya [sukrato] and enjoins that, together with some other phrases of like character, it should be recited at the soma-pressings (vísivé 't tā te sávaṇeṣu pravācyā). All the Brāhmaṇas are unanimous in interpreting this formula as an allusion to one of Indra's amatory adventures : ŚB. 1. 1. 16 says: vṛṣaṇaśvasya ha menasya menakā nāma duhitā 'sa. tām he 'ndraś cakamē.<sup>2</sup> The JB. ii. 78 has: vṛṣaṇaśvasya ha menā bhūtvā maghavā kula uvāsa. The Śāt B. (quoted by Sāyaṇa to RV. i. 51. 13) omits ha, but otherwise agrees verbatim with JB.<sup>3</sup> In an entirely different connection<sup>4</sup> and without reference to the subrahmaṇyā, the MS. ii. 5. 5 (p. 54, 7) has this: yatra vā ada indro vṛṣaṇaśvasya menā 'sīt tad enaṁ nirṛtiḥ pāpmā 'grhṇāt. The character of the story becomes clear if it is compared with its Kāthaka parallel (xiii. 5; p. 186, 6): indro vāi vilisteṅgām [D. vilistiṅgām] dānavīm akāmayata. so 'sureṣv acarat. stry eva strīṣv abhavat pumān puṁsu. sa nirrtigrhīta ivā 'manyata, which Weber (IS. v, 1862, 249) and Bloomfield (Atharva Translation, 1897, SBE. xiii. 447) very plausibly connect with AV. vii. 38. 2, yenā nicakra āsurī

<sup>1</sup> Series I was printed in JAOS. xviii. p. 15; Series II in xix. p. 97; Series III in *Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, vol. i (1899), p. 225; Series IV in JAOS. xxiii. p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> This is, as I pointed out in this Journal xviii. (1896) p. 34, note<sup>9</sup>, probably the passage which Sāyaṇa had in mind in his note to RV. 1. 51. 13.

<sup>3</sup> JAOS. xviii. (1896) p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> The passage is parallel to Kāth. xiii. 5 (p. 186, 6), and Indra's escapade in the house of Vṛṣaṇaśva in the MS. takes the place of his affair with the dānavī Vilisteṅgā in the Kāthaka.

'ndraṁ devebhyas pari | tenā ni kurve tvāṁ ahaṁ yathā te 'sāni supriyā.

I can see no good reason for assuming with Eggeling (SBE. 1885, xxvi. 81 note<sup>3</sup>) that "the myth alluded to in the Rik had been forgotten at the time of the Brāhmaṇas and a new version of it was invented based on the menā of the original." To be sure, the details of the story are lost. This much, however, is perfectly clear, that Indra impersonated some woman<sup>1</sup> of Vṛṣa-ṇaśva's household. Its general trend is peculiarly suited to the popular conception of Indra's character.<sup>2</sup> The motif is admirably fitted to a folk tale<sup>3</sup>—such tales as fill Jörg Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlin* (1555) or Frey's *Gartengesellschaft* (1556) or Martin Montanus' *Wegkürzer* (1557) and other Schwankbücher, but it is ill adapted for exploitation in hymns and the ritual.<sup>4</sup>

Thus we find this motif in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita (chapter v, p. 138 of Wilson's ed., London, 1846) where Pramati gains access to his beloved Navamālikā by the same device. 'A plan,' says Wilson in his summary (p. 23 of the Introduction), 'is devised to effect their [i. e. Pramati's and Navamālikā's] union. The old Brahman takes Pramati in the dress of a female [p. 138, 8 f. Pramati says: ayam ahaṁ parivartitas strīveṣas te kanyā nāma bhavyam] to the Raja, and introduces him as his daughter, who has been betrothed some time, but whose bridegroom is absent. The pretended father therefore professes to go in search of him, and asks to leave his daughter in the care of the Raja, to which the latter consents. Pramati thus obtains access to his mistress [p. 139, 4 f. Pramati says: svaduhitṛsaṁnidhāu mām vāsyaṣyati]'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> menā=stri (cf. Sāyaṇa to RV. 1. 121. 2 aśvasya menām, strīnāmāi 'tat), perhaps=vrā (Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* ii. (1897) 121 ; 313).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897. I. (1899) p. 233. To the references given there in note <sup>3</sup> add Hillebrandt, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1903, No. 3, p. 244, and Rāmāy. i. 48 f. (Bomb.)=49 f. (Gorr.); vii. 30 (Bomb.)=38 (Gorr.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Ahalyā story in Kathāsaritsāgara, xvii. 137, where Indra, under similar circumstances, turns into a cat. Cf. TMB. viii. 2. 2 for a cat in the house of a ṛṣi.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 1895, p. 171-2 ; Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien* I (1889), preface p. xxvii "Der indische Volkshumor bricht hier (scil. in den Indraliedern) allenthalben durch."

<sup>5</sup> Somewhat similar is the story of Puṣpodbhava, who, disguised as a female attendant of his mistress, kills her unwelcome lover Dāruvarman, prince of Ujain (cf. Wilson, *l. c.*, p. 11).

It is the same motif which we find in the Greek story of Leukippos and Daphne. Both Pausanias and Parthenius who tell the story appear to have followed the same source. Parthenius gives as his authorities an elegiac poet Diodorus and Phylarchus (ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Διωδώρῳ τῷ Ἑλαίτῃ ἐν ἐλεγείαις καὶ Φυλάρχῳ ἐν ε). Since Phylarchus told the story of Apollo's pursuit of Daphne<sup>1</sup> (Plutarch, Agis ix. 2), it seems probable that the Leukippos episode was drawn from Diodorus who is not mentioned elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

The story itself runs as follows:

PAUSANIAS (VIII. 20. 2-4).

PARTHENIUS (NARR. AMAT.  
XV. 2-3).

Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυναστεύσαντι ἐν Ταύτης [ἰ. ε. Δάφνης] περὶ τὴν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός. οὗτος ἐρασθεὶς Δάφνης ὁ Λεύκιππος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ εὐθέος μνώμενος γυναῖκα ἔξειν ἀπεγίγνωσκε αὐτὴν ἅτε ἅπαν τὸ ἄρσεν γένος φεύγουσαν· παρέστη δὲ οἱ τοιόνδε ἐς αὐτὴν σόφισμα. ἔτρεφεν ὁ Λεύκιππος κόμην τῷ Ἀλφείῳ· ταύτην οἶα δὴ παρθένος πλεξάμενος τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνδὺς γυναικείαν ἀφίκετο ὡς τὴν Δάφνην, ἐλθὼν δὲ Οἰνομάου τε ἔλεγεν εἶναι θυγάτηρ καὶ ὡς συνηθῶν ἐθέλοι τῇ Δάφνῃ. ἅτε δὲ εἶναι παρθένος νομιζόμενος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβλημένος παρθένους γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὰ κνηγέσιω, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ περισσῇ χρῶμενος, ἐς φιλίαν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπάγεται τὴν Δάφνην. οἱ

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, *Rhein. Mus.* xxiv. (1869) p. 251; Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie* (in I. v. Müller's Handbuch) p. 159, note 12; Edgar Martini, note on Parthen. narrat. amat. xv; Waser in Pauly-Wissowa iv, col. 2138, give the literature on the Daphne legends.

<sup>2</sup> Hecker, therefore, proposes to read Δουρίδι (known from the Anthology) for Διωδώρῳ (Philol. v, 1846, p. 416).

δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ἐς αὐτὴν Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παιδὸς  
 ἄδοντες καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἀπόλ- πόθῳ καίόμενος ὀργῇ τε καὶ φθόνῳ  
 λωνα Λευκίπῳ νεμεσῆσαι τῆς ἐς τὸν εἶχετο τοῦ Λευκίππου συνόντος καὶ  
 ἔρωτα εὐδαιμονίας. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεθύ- ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτῇ βάλλει σὺν ταῖς λοι-  
 μῳσεν ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ἢ Δάφνῃ καὶ αἱ παῖς παρθένους ἐπὶ κρήνην ἐλθούσας  
 λοιπαὶ παρθένοι νήχεσθαι καὶ τὸν λούεσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ ὡς ἀφικόμεναι  
 Λεύκιππον ἀποδιόουσιν ἄκοντα. ἰδοῦ- ἀπεδιδύσκοντο καὶ ἑώρων τὸν Λεύκιπ-  
 σαι δὲ οὐ παρθένον τοῖς τε ἀκοντίοις πον μὴ βουλόμενον περιέρρηξαν αὐ-  
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειριδίοις τύπτουσαι διέ- τόν. μαθοῦσαι δὲ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ  
 φθειραν. ὡς ἐπεβούλευεν αὐταῖς πᾶσαι μεθίε-  
 σαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰς αἰχμάς.

The same motif recurs in the story of Hymenaeus and the noble Attic virgin<sup>1</sup> which is preserved in the scholia Floriacensia to Vergil's Aeneid, and in the grammarian Lactantius Placidus' commentary to Statius' Thebais. From them the three Vatican mythographers derived their information.

SCHOL. FLORACENSE AD VERG.	LACTANTII PLACIDI COMMENT.
AEN. iv. 99 (SERVII COMMENT-	IN STAT. THEB. iii. 283 (IN J.
TARII, REC. THILO ET HAGEN,	VEENHUSEN'S ED. OF STATIUS,
'I. p. 481; CF. ALSO p. xxxvii).	LUGD. BATAV. 1671 OR LON-
	DON 1824).

..... Hymenaeus,	Hymenaeus puer genere Ath-
Atheniensis adeo pulcher fuit ut	eniensis fuit. Is cum annos
adulescens puella putaretur. Is	puerilis aetatis excederet neque
cum unam virginem nobilem ipse	adhuc virum posset implere ea
mediocriter ortus adamasset	pulchritudine praeditus fuisse
eiusque nuptias desperaret, quod	dicitur, ut feminam mentiretur.
unum poterat, sequendo puellam	Is cum unam ex civibus suis
amori satis faciebat. Sed cum	virginem nobilem adamasset,
Atheniensium nobilissimae vir-	ipse mediocribus ortus parenti-
gines Eleusinae Cereri sacra fa-	bus quia nuptias desperabat,
cerent, subito adventu pirata-	quod poterat tamen puellam
rum raptae sunt: inter quas	extrema amoris linea diligens
etiam Hymenaeus qui illo ama-	satis animo solo faciebat aspec-
tam fuerat secutus tamquam	tu, cumque nobiles feminae cum
puella raptus est. Sed cum	virginibus sacra Cereris Eleu-
piratae praedam per maria lon-	sinae celebrarent subito adventu

<sup>1</sup> R. Schmidt, *De Hymenaeo et Talasio* (Kiel, 1886), p. 14.

ginta portassent in desertam piratarum raptae sunt inter quas  
 regionem delati ac fatigati etiam Hymenaeus, qui illo ama-  
 somno se dederunt: quos cum tam fuerat subsecutus, quod  
 universos occidisset Hymenaeus puella crederetur. Cum igitur  
 relictis ibi virginibus Athenas per longinqua maria praedam  
 reversus est petiitque a civibus piratae vexissent ad quandam  
 ut, si virgines quae raptae fue- regionem tandem devoluti per-  
 rant reduxisset, dilectae nuptias veniunt ibique somno oppressi  
 impetraret: quas cum reduxisset ab insequentibus sunt inter-  
 set optatam in matrimonium empti. Hymenaeus relictis ibi  
 virginem meruit. Quod coniu- virginibus reversus Athenas  
 gium quia felix fuerat placuit pactus est a civibus dilectae  
 Atheniensibus omnibus nuptiis nuptias si eis filias suas resti-  
 Hymenaei nomen interesse . . . tuisset. Quas ubi pro voto  
 restituit exoptatam accepit  
 uxorem. Quod coniugium quia  
 felix fuerat placuit Atheniensi-  
 bus nomen nuptiis Hymenaei  
 miscere.

The mythographers have this:

MYTHOGR. VATIC. I. 75	MYTHOGR. VATIC. II. 219	MYTHOGR. VATIC. III,
(A. MAI, CLASS. AUCT.	(A. MAI, CLASS. AUCT.	TRACT. xi. 3 (A. MAI,
III, 1831, p. 30).	III, 1831, p. 159).	CLASS. AUCT. III,
		1831, p. 251).

Hymenaeus puer for- mosissimus genere Athe- niensis fuit. Is cum an- nos puérilis aetatis exce- deret, neque adhuc virum implere posset, ea pul- chritudine praeditus fu- isse dicitur ut feminam mentiretur. Istum cum una ex civibus suis virgo nobilis adamasset, et ipse mediocribus ortus paren- tibus quia nuptias de- sperabat, quod poterat tamen puellam extrema	... Hymenaeus puer genere Atheniensis fuit. Is cum annos puerilis ae- tatis excederet neque ad- huc virum posset implere ea pulchritudine praeditus fuisse dicitur ut feminam mentiretur. Istum cum una ex civibus suis no- bilis virgo adamasset ipse mediocribus ortus paren- tibus quia nuptias de- sperabat quod poterat tamen puellam extrema	Lactantius tamen ab historia tractum dicit ut Hymenaeus nuptiis prae- sit, quod etiam Servius attestatur. Fuit enim Athenis, inquit, adole- scens tantae pulcritudi- nis ut feminam mentire- tur. Hunc cum una ex civibus virgo nobilis mu- tuo adamasset ipse tamen mediocribus ortus paren- tibus nuptias despera- bat. Cum autem Atti- cae semel virgines prope
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amoris linea diligens, eius animo solo satisfaciebat aspectu. Cumque nobiles feminae cum virginibus sacra Cereris Eleusinae celebrarent, subito adventu piratarum raptae sunt: inter quas et Hymenaeus, qui illo amatam subsecutus fuerat, cum puella abripitur. Cum igitur per longinqua maria praedam piratae vexissent ad quandam regionem tandem perveniunt ubi et somno pressi ab insequentibus sunt perempti. Hymenaeus relictis ibi virginibus reversus Athenas pactus est a civibus dilectae suae nuptias si eis filias suas restitueret. Quas ubi pro voto restituit exoptatam accepit uxorem. Quod coniugium quia felix fuerat placuit Atheniensibus nomen nuptiis Hymenaei miscere.

animo suo faciebat aspectu. Cumque nobiles feminae cum virginibus sacra Eleusinae Cereris celebrarent subito adventu piratarum raptae sunt: inter quas et Hymenaeus qui illo amatam suam fuerat subsecutus, eique puella creditur. Cum igitur per longinqua maria praedam piratae vexissent ad quandam regionem tandem devoluti perveniunt ibique somno oppressi ab insequentibus sunt perempti. Hymenaeus ibi relictis virginibus reversus Athenas pactus est a civibus dilectae nuptias si eis filias suas restituisset. Quas ubi pro voto restituit exoptatam accepit uxorem. Quod coniugium quia felix fuerat placuit Atheniensibus nomen Hymenaei nuptiis miscere . . .

litis sacra celebrarent subito piratarum adventu raptae et asportatae sunt: inter quas et Hymenaeus qui in habitu muliebri amatam virginem subsecutus civis puella creditus est. Piratae vero in longinqua regione portum nacti ab insequentibus sunt interempti. Hymenaeus igitur relictis ibi virginibus Athenas reversus dilectae nuptias a civibus pactus est si filias suas eis restituisset: quas ubi pro voto restituit exoptatam duxit uxorem: cui quia feliciter coniugium obtigit obtinuit ut nomen eius in nuptiis invocetur . . .

Finally, Joannes Balbus (Giovanni Balbi) de Janua in his *Catholicon*<sup>1</sup> s.v. *himen* tells the story in this form:<sup>2</sup>

Hymenaeus Atheniensis iuvenis amore cuiusdam forma parissed nobilitate superioris inarserat. Sed generis imparitate repulssam passus inter virginali habitu conversatus et a

<sup>1</sup> Some copies of the first ed. of 1460 have no title; others have the head-title: *Incipit summa que vocatur Catholicon edita a fratre Johanne de Janua ordinis fratrum predicatorum.*

<sup>2</sup> Not having access to an edition of the *Catholicon*, I quote this from R. Schmidt's dissertation *De Hymenaeo et Talasio*, Kiel, 1886, p. 14, note.

piratis inter virgines captivatus et tandem vir esse deprehensus ad suos remissus est ut parentibus virginum eorum facilem nuntiet vel dicat reditum, ea tamen lege ut eius quam peteret uti coniugio concederetur. Conceditur. Redduntur virgines; fit ille voti sui compos salva lege suae conditionis.

Saxo Grammaticus,<sup>1</sup> in the ninth book of his Danish History, tells how king Ragnar Loðbrók made use of the same device: Cumque . . . aliquanto bellorum interstitio quievisset, cuiusdam forte mulierculae amantior factus quo promptiorem sibi potendae eius aditum strueret patrem ipsius amplissimo beneficentiae cultu officiosissime captandum curavit. Saepe enim numero accersitum ad epulas plurimae comitatis officii prosequabatur. Nam et venientem assurgendi reverentia discumbentemque proximo sibi consessu veneratus est. Saepe etiam donis, interdum benignissimo recreavit alloquio. Qui cum tantae honorationis causam a nullo suo merito profectam animadverteret, cogitatione varie deflexa, ex amore filiae suae tacitam principis liberalitatem descendisse cognovit, libidinosum propositum humanitatis nomine colorantis. Quam ut exactissimum amantis ingenium frustraretur tanto impensius observandam curavit quanto eam latentioribus studiis ac pervicacioribus modis ambiri comperit. Verum Regnerus certissimo consensus eius nuntio recreatus villam in qua asservabatur accessit, nihilque amori invium putans in vicino quendam rusticae vitae solitarii hospitii petiit. Mane, commutata cum feminis veste, amicae laneum opus explicanti muliebriter cultus astitit virgineoque operi rudes artificicii manus callide, ne proderetur, admovit; nocte vero votis virginem amplexatus indulsit. Cumque, maturescente partu, temeratae pudicitiae facinus tumidiore puellae gremio proderetur, incertus pater cui se filia polluentem dedisset ignoratum stupri auctorem ex ipsa maxime cognoscere perseveravit. Qua se neminem praeter pedissequam lecti participem habuisse pertinacius affirmantem regi cognoscendam mandavit. Ille, insontem famulam inusitata criminatione notari non sustinens, proprii sceleris profectione alienae innocentiae fidem facere non erubuit. Qua humanitate et muliebris calumniae partes repulit et ne ridiculus

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<sup>1</sup> P. 450-1 of Müller's and Velschow's edition (Havniae 1839)=p. 307 of Holder's edition (Strassburg, 1886)=p. 480 of H. Jantzen's translation (Berlin, 1900).



rumor apud improbas aures sereretur effecit. Praeterea gignendum ex ea filium sui sanguinis esse quodque eum Ubbonem nuncupari vellet adiecit. Qui cum aliquatenus excrevisset, tenerae aetatis ingenio maturae discretionis habitum apprehendit. Matris enim dilectionem quod excellenti se toro miscuisset amplexus, venerationem patris quod ad obscuriorem iusto copulam descendisset abiecit.

Similarly an episode of the *Thiðrek saga*<sup>1</sup> relates how Apollonius, jarl af Tyra, falls in love with Herborg, daughter of the Franconian king Salumon. Being refused her hand by her father he takes ten of his knights and hides in the woods near the king's castle. In the morning he borrows<sup>2</sup> a woman's headkerchief (*höfuð-dúk*) and cloak (*skikkja*) and thus enters the queen's chambers as Heppa, a poor beggar woman. In this disguise he communicates with Herborg and elopes with her during her father's absence in Rome.

In Roman comedy this motif occurs several times. L. Pomponius of Bononia wrote a farce *Maccus Virgo* (Ribbeck, *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung* i, 1887, p. 211) the plot of which may belong here. The fragment from the *Macci Gemini*, preserved by Nonius (i. p. 103, 25 Luc. Mueller's ed., Lipsiae, 1888): 'Perii! non puerulast!—Numqui abscondidisti inter nates,' certainly describes some such situation (cf. Ribbeck, *l. c.*, p. 215). Macrobius (vi. 4. 13) preserves a few lines in which some Roman Bottom rehearses speaking 'in a monstrous little voice,' to impersonate a woman: 'Vocem deducas oportet ut videantur mulieris | Verba.—Iube modo adferatur munus, ego vocem dabo | Tenuem et tinnulam | . . . . | Etiam nunc vocem deducam' (cf. Ribbeck, *l. c.*, p. 215). The clearest case, however, is in the 'Epistula' of L. Afranius (Ribbeck, *l. c.*, p. 203; *Comic. Lat. Frag.*, 1855, p. 152). There the lover, speaking as small as he can (*sucerotilla voce*) and in female disguise ('tace! | Puella non sum, supparo si induta sum?') enters the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hugdietrich's wooing of Hiltburc in the guise of a girl (Wolfdietrich, B, i. 27 ff.=p. 171 of Amelung und Jänicke's *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, 3d part, (Berlin, 1871).

<sup>2</sup> *Saga Þiðriks Konungs af Bern* ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania 1853). chap. 251 (p. 226). In Peringskiöld's ed. (Stockholm 1725) it is chap. 225. A German translation in F. H. v. d. Hagen, *Nordische Heldenromane* II, Wilkina- und Niflunga Saga oder Dietrich von Bern und die Nibelungen. (Breslau, 1814), ii. p. 203, chap. 225.

girl's house, where he is discovered by her irate mother ('ego [probably the girl is speaking] misera risu clandestino rumpier | Torpere mater, amens ira fervere').

In the *Chanson de Geste* 'Auberi of Burgundy' (edited by Tobler, *Mittheilungen aus Altfranzösischen Handschriften* I, 1870) female disguise is resorted to twice, once by a messenger (pp. 47-8) and once by the lover himself (pp. 71-2). The same ruse is employed in Louvet de Couvray's *Amours du Chevalier de Faublas*.<sup>1</sup>

Other instances may be found in Johannes Bolte's notes to Martin Montanus' *Wegkürzer*, chapter 15, and *Gartengesellschaft*, chapter 110 (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. ccxvii, Tübingen, 1899, p. 569 and p. 631).

These stories seem to me to have but an outward resemblance to the tales of the young Achilles whom his mother hides among the women at the court of Lycomedes at Scyros<sup>2</sup> (Apolod. Biblioth. iii. 13. 8. 4; cf. Roscher, *Lexicon* i, col. 27-8; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* i, col. 226, line 20) or of the child Bacchus<sup>3</sup> whom a vase painting of the fifth century represents clad in a girl's dress.<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of the disguise is here entirely different and the selection of female garb not at all essential: Jokhebed (Exod. 2. 3) and Herzeloide<sup>5</sup> accom-

<sup>1</sup> The first of these references I owe to Professor Warren, the second to Professor Lang.

<sup>2</sup> His love affair with Lycomedes' daughter Deidameia which led to the birth of Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) in purely incidental and in no way the cause for his disguise, as was the case in all the preceding tales.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodor. Biblioth. iii. 4. 3. 4; cf. Gruppe *Griech. Mythol.* p. 904.

<sup>4</sup> Graef, *Bruchstücke einer Schale von der Akropolis*, in *Jahrbuch d. kais. deut. archaeol. Instituts* vi (1891) p. 46-8.

<sup>5</sup> Wolfram v. Eschenbach's *Parzival* iii. 320-336: do gedächte mër diu künegin | "der liute vil bî spotte sint. | tõren kleider sol mîn kint | ob sîme liechten lîbe tragen. | wirt er geroufet unt geslagen, | so kumet er mir her wider wol." | ôwê der jaemerlîchen dol! | diu frouwe nam ein sactuoch: | si sneit im hemed unde bruoch, | daz doch an eime stücke erschein, | unz enmitten an sîn blankez bein. | daz wart fur tõren kleit erkant. | ein gugel man obene drûfe vant. | al frisch rûch kelberin | von einer hût zwei ribbalîn | nâch sînen beinen wart gesniten. | da wart grôz jâmer niht vermiten.

Cf. Crestien de Troies' description (Potvin's ed. in *Perceval le Gallois*, Mons, 1871, vol. ii. p. 57) vs. 1690-9: La mère, tant com il li loist, | Le retient et si le séjourne; | Et si l'apareille et atourne | De kanevas grosse cemise | Et braies faites à la guise | De Gales u l'en fet ensamble | Braies

plish the same end (the safety of their children) by different means.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Plut. Qu. Graec. 58.

Nor would I connect our stories as intimately as Gruppe seems to do with certain apotropaic<sup>2</sup> rites and cult-ceremonies which involve an interchange of garments.<sup>3</sup> In these cases again the aim is entirely different, and they are much more properly classed with the apotropaic noises which are frequent in the ritual to ward off evil influences.<sup>4</sup>

Our stories<sup>5</sup> should rather be classed with those of Zeus χρυσόμορφος (Soph. frag. 1026) and Danae, or Zeus and Leda (Eurip. Helen. 17-20, λόγος τις ὡς Ζεὺς μητὲρ ἔπτατ' εἰς ἐμὴν | Ἀγδαν κύκνου μορφώματ' ὀρνίθος λαβών | ὅς δόλιον εὐνην ἐξέπραξε . . .). In fact Pindar uses the motif of the golden rain in the story of Alcmene (Isthm. vii [vi]).

Instead of a disguise actual transformation may take place. Helios,<sup>6</sup> for instance, deceives Leucothoe by assuming the form of her mother Eurynome, cf. Ovid, Metam. iv. 218 f.,

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et cauces, ce me samble | Et si ot cote et caperon, | Clos de cuirs de cero environ. Also the English metrical romance in the Thornton MS. of Lincoln Cathedral (The Mabinogion, by Lady Charlotte Guest, London, 1869, p. 400): The childe hadd no thyng y<sup>t</sup> tyde | Y<sup>t</sup> he mygte in his bones hyde | Bot a gaytes skynn | He was burely of body & y<sup>r</sup> to rizt brade | One ayther halfe a skynn he hade | The hode was of y<sup>e</sup> same made | Juste to y<sup>e</sup> chynn | His hode was juste to his chyn | Y<sup>e</sup> flesche halfe tourned w<sup>t</sup> in.

<sup>1</sup> The tale of Heracles and Omphale is of an entirely different character. But it is noteworthy that the playful exchange of garments between Heracles and Omphale which is often referred to in poetry and art (cf. Jahn in the Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. W., 1855, p. 215 ff., especially p. 224; also Roscher, Lexicon i, p. 2247 f.) leads to an unintentional deception of Faunus which is very amusingly told by Ovid, Fast. ii. 301-358. Compare also the 'spirited and humorous' (Macaulay) version of this 'tale of poesie upon the nyhtes micherie' in Gower's Confessio Amantis v. 6807 ff. (where Iole takes the place of Omphale).

<sup>2</sup> This term was introduced by Miss J. E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, p. xvii). It seems to be the most convenient word to refer to 'ceremonies of riddance' and the 'cult of aversion,' the Greek ἀπορομπαί, German 'Abwehrzauber,' etc.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. § 274, pp. 903-4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., for India, Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur* (1897) p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Arjuna, Indra's representative in the Mahābhārata, is clothed as a eunuch and so gets acquainted with the daughter of Virāṭa in the harem; but she marries Arjuna's son.

<sup>6</sup> Roscher, Lexicon I, p. 2017.

‘thalamos deus intrat amatos | Versus in Eurynomes faciem genetricis,’ and the Anonymus in Westermann’s *Μυθόγραφοι*, 1843, p. 348, Ἥλιος Λευκοθήῃ τῇ Ὀρχομένον μὴ γῆναι θελήσας εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῆς προειρημένης μετεμορφώθη. If Lactantius is correct this story was found in Hesiod.<sup>1</sup> In a similar manner Vertumnus<sup>2</sup> approaches Pomona in the shape of an old woman, cf. Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 654 ff., Ille etiam picta redimitus tempora mitra | Innitens baculo, positus ad tempora canis | Assimulavit anum, cultosque intravit in hortus.

Elsewhere the motif is slightly altered and the lover deceives the wife by assuming the form of her husband. Thus Indra appeared to Ahalyā in the shape of her husband Gāutama; at least Ahalyā, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, pleads this deception in her defense: ‘Without my knowledge was I violated by the god who had taken thy form’ (ajānatī dharsitā ’smi tvadrūpeṇa divāukasā, *Uttarakāṇḍa* [vii], 38. 39 Gorresio). The Greek tale of Zeus and Alkmene,<sup>3</sup> ὡς συγγένοιτο Ἀλκμήνῃ Ζεὺς Ἀμφιτρύωνι εἰκασθεῖς (Paus. v. 18. 3), and, in the Arthurian legend, the episode of Uther-Pendragon and Igera, wife of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall, in which Uther ‘se Merlini medicationibus comisit et in speciem Gorlois transmutatus est’<sup>4</sup> are exact parallels. Of modern authors Théophile Gautier,<sup>5</sup> the Elder, appears to be the only one who was bold enough to utilize the motif in this form in his novel *Avatar*, published in 1832, in which the

<sup>1</sup> Lactant. *Plac. argum.* Ovid. *Metam.* iv. 5 in Goettling’s *Hesiodi Carmina*, ed. tertia, cur. Flach, 1878, p. 322, frag. cxliii, . . . in speciem matris puellae Eurynomes conversus virginem deceptam dolo vitiauit . . . hoc Hesiodus indicat.—Gower, who tells this story in his *Confessio Amantis* (v. 6713 ff.) as an *Ensampl* of *Stelthe* and *Robberie of Love*, omits the transformation.

<sup>2</sup> *Propertius* iv [v]. 2. 23 refers to this: *Indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella.*

<sup>3</sup> Roscher, *Lexicon* i, p. 246; Wernicke in *Pauly-Wissowa’s Real-Encyclopädie*, i, col. 1572.—Gower, *Confessio Amantis* ii. 2459 ff. gives a very curious version of this story which he introduces to illustrate *Supplantacioun*. He makes Geta the husband of Almeene, and Amphitriion takes the part of Zeus.

<sup>4</sup> Galfridus *Monumetensis* (Geoffroy of Monmouth), *Historiae Reg. Britanniae* viii. 19; the quotation is from p. 117, 67 f. of San Marte’s (pseud. for A. Schulz) edition, Halle, 1854.

<sup>5</sup> An outline of the plot may be found in P. Larousse’s *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du xix<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, i (1866), p. 1038, cols. 3–4, s. v. *Avatar*.

hero, Octave de Saville, is actually, by magic, transformed into the count Labinski.<sup>1</sup>

A third manner of deception is illustrated in the story of the Roman knight Decius Mundus<sup>2</sup> and the pious matron Paulina, wife of Saturninus, who was deceived by Mundus' assuming the guise of the god Anubis<sup>3</sup> (καὶ ὁ Μοῦνδος, προεκέκρυπτο γὰρ τῇδε [i. e. in the temple of Isis], οὐχ ἡμάρτανεν ὁμιλιῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν, παννύχιόν τε αὐτῷ διηκονήσατο ὑπειληφνῦα θεὸν εἶναι).

The same motif occurs in the Nectanabus episode of the Alexander romance, the oldest version of which is given in Pseudo-Callisthenes<sup>4</sup> i, 4 ff. (cf. especially chapters 5 and 7, with their respective headings: Ἐνθα Νεκτανεβῶς ἐν σχήματι θεοῦ Ἀμμωνος, ἐν ὁράματι συγγινόμενος αὐτῇ [i. e. Ὀλυμπίადι], λέγει· Γύναι, κατὰ γαστρὸς ἔχεις ἄρρενα παῖδα ἐκδικόν σου γινόμενον, and Ἐνθα Νεκτανεβῶς ἀπατήσας αὐτήν ἐν σχήματι θεοῦ συγγίνεται αὐτῇ). Thence it passed into the Latin,<sup>5</sup> Armenian,<sup>6</sup> Syriac,<sup>7</sup> French,<sup>8</sup> Ger-

<sup>1</sup> The dramatic critic in [London] Truth for May 11th, 1905 (no. 1480, vol. lvii, p. 1197), regards the stories of double personality (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde) and of doubles (The Masquerader) as modifications of this ancient motif.

<sup>2</sup> The story is told by Josephus, Ant. xviii. chap. 4, § 66 ff.; Zonaras, Annal. vi. 5 (=vol. i, p. 480, 15 ff. of M. Pinder's edition, Bonn, 1841, in Niebuhr's Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantiae); Hegesippus, De bell. Jud. ii. 4 (in Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, Lugduni, MDCLXXVII, vol. v, p. 1151, col. 2). For later writers see Macaulay's note to Gower's Confessio Amantis i. 761.

<sup>3</sup> A *mimus* entitled *Moechus Anubis* is mentioned by Tertullian Apologet. adv. gent. 15 (cf. Grysar, Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy xii, 1854, p. 251): Cetera lasciviae ingenia etiam voluptatibus vestris per deorum dedecus operantur. Dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates utrum mimos an deos vestros in iocis et strophis videatis, 'Moechum Anubim' et 'Masculum Lunam' et 'Dianam Flagellatam' et 'Iovis mortui testamentum' recitatum et 'Tres Hercules Famelicos' irrisos. Unfortunately nothing is known concerning the nature of the plot of this farce.

<sup>4</sup> Müller's edition, at the end of Dübner's Arriani Anabasis et Indica, Paris (Didot) 1846.

<sup>5</sup> Julius Valerius (rec. Kuebler) i. 3 ff.; Julii Valerii epitome (ed. Zacher) 1. 4 ff.; Leonis Archipresbyteri Neapolitani Vita Alexandri Magni (Historia de preliis) ed. Landgraf i. 4 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Zacher, Pseudo-Callisthenes. Halle, 1867, pp. 87, 8 and 89, 18.

<sup>7</sup> In Roemheld's Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kritik der Alexander-sage (Gymnas. Progr. Hersfeld) 1873.

<sup>8</sup> Eustache (or Thomas) de Kent, Roman de toute chevalerie, in P. Meyer's Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age, Paris, 1886, i, p. 199 ff. [=vol. iv of the Bibliothèque Française du Moyen Age].

man,<sup>1</sup> English,<sup>2</sup> etc.<sup>3</sup> In Sanskrit this mode of deception is utilized in the 'Tale of the Weaver as Viṣṇu' (Pancatantra i. 5, Benfey ii, p. 48 and i. 159).

An old Arabic story 'The Tale of a Friend in Need' (in *Maṣāri'* al- '*Uṣṣāq*, Constantinople edition, pp. 325 ff.) which contains the same motif (disguise in female garb) will be published by Professor Torrey in the next number of the Journal.

## II. A Greek parallel to a Hindu popular belief.

I. A curious parallel to Ovid. A. A. iii. 787-8 (Mille modi Veneris: simplex minimique laboris | Cum iacet in dextrum semisupina latus) is found in the following passages:

ŚB. i. 1. 1. 20: tā uttareṇā 'havanīyam prañayati yoṣā vā āpo vṛṣā 'gnir mithunam evāi 'tat prajānaṁ kriyata evam iva hi mithunaṁ kṛptam uttarato hi strī pumāṁsam upaśete.

ŚB. ii. 5. 2. 17: sa uttarasyām eva payasyāyām meṣīm avada-dhāti: dakṣiṇasyām meṣam evam iva hi mithunaṁ kṛptam uttarato hi strī pumāṁsam upaśete.

ŚB. vi. 3. 1. 30: dakṣiṇata āhavanīyo bhavaty uttarata esā 'bhrir upaśete vṛṣā vā āhavanīyo yoṣā 'bhrir dakṣiṇato vāi vṛṣā yoṣām upaśete.

ŚB. vii. 5. 1. 6: dakṣiṇato 'śādhayāi [scil. kūrmaṁ dadhāti] vṛṣā vāi kūrmo yoṣā 'śādhā dakṣiṇato vāi vṛṣā yoṣām upaśete.

JUB. i. 53. 3: idam āyatanam manaś ca prāṇaś ce 'dam āyatanam vāk cā 'pānaś ca. tasmāt pumān dakṣiṇato yoṣām upaśete.

For the later literature<sup>4</sup> compare the commentary to Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (Bombay ed. Nirṇayasāgara-Press.) p. 101: tatra vāmapārsvasuptāyāḥ striyā ūrvantare dakṣiṇapārsve suptaḥ pumān vāmam ūrum dakṣiṇakakṣāntare ca vāmaprāṇam praveśayet, and Vātsyāyana himself, p. 138, pārsveṇa tu śayāno dakṣiṇena nārīm adhiśayīte 'ti sārvaśrīkaṁ etat.

<sup>1</sup> In the younger (Basel) version of the Alexander-Lay, R. M. Werner's edition in *Bibliothek d. Litter. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 154 (1881) pp. 14 f. vss. 183 ff. The Alexander-Lay of the Pfaffe Lamprecht however discredits the tale, cf. vss. 83 ff., Noch sprechint manige lügenere | daz er [=Alexander] eines gouchelères sun wære | . . . | sulche lügenmære | sulen sîn unmære | iegelichen frumen man.

<sup>2</sup> Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, vi. 1789.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for instance, the Greek Alexander-Lay in E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire*, Paris, 1881, ii, pp. xxxix ff.; and, in general, Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byzant. Litteratur* (2d ed.), 1897, p. 849 § 374.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik* (1902) p. 532.

II. In the note to JUB. i. 53. 3 (JAOS. xvi. 234) I proposed to connect these passages with Br̥hat Saṁhitā lxxviii. 24 dakṣiṇa-pārśve puruṣo vāme narī yamāv ubhayasaṁsthāu.<sup>1</sup> To this belief (viz. that the male fœtus develops in the right side of the uterus, the female fœtus in the left) there are a number of interesting Greek parallels.

Hippocrates, De morbis vulgaribus ii. 6 (Medic. Graecor. opera ed. C. G. Kühn, xxiii, 1827, p. 465) δύναμιν πλείστην ἔχει τιτθός, ὀφθαλμός δεξιός, ταῦτα τῶν κάτω καὶ ὅτι ἐμπέφυκε τοῖς δεξιούσι τὰ ἄρσενα. The same says in the second book of his Προρρήτικὰ (Praedict. ii, in Medic. Graecor. opera ed. C. G. Kühn xxi, 1825, p. 221) with reference to the possible effect of a uterine ulcer on the sex of the child: ἔλκος δὲ γινομένου καὶ ἐξυγασθέντος τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἀνάγκη λειότερον καὶ σκληρότερον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦσσαν δύνασθαι ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ μόνον ἐν τοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ γένοιτο ἔλκος ἢ δὲ γυνὴ ἐν γαστρὶ λάβοι, εἴτε τὸ ἔλκος ἐπὶ ἔχουσα εἴτε λοιπὸν ἤδη ὑγίης εἶδους, ἄρσεν μᾶλλον τεκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐλπίς ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τὸ ἔλκος γένοιτο ἢ δὲ γυνὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχοι θήλυ μᾶλλον τὸ ἐκγονον χρή δοκέειν ἔσσεσθαι. Galen refers to this belief of Hippocrates in his note to section thirty-eight of the fifth book of the latter's Aphorisms. Commenting on Hippocrates' Γυναικὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσῃ ἦν ὁ ἕτερος μασθὸς ἰσχνὸς γένηται, διδυμα ἐχούσῃ θάτερον ἐκτιτρώσκει, καὶ ἦν μὲν δεξιὸς ἰσχνὸς γένηται τὸ ἄρσεν, ἦν δ' ὁ ἀριστερὸς τὸ θήλυ, he says (Medic. Graec. oper. ed. C. G. Kühn, xvii, pars ii, 1829, p. 829) τὸ δ' ὅτι διδυμὸν ὄντων, ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος, εἰ μὲν ὁ δεξιὸς τιτθὸς ἰσχνὸς γένηται, τὸ ἄρρεν μόνον, εἰ μὲν δ' ὁ ἀριστερὸς, τὸ θήλυ διαφθείρεται, ἐξ ἐκείνης ἤρτηται τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἔμβρυα τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα ἐν τοῖς δεξιούσι, τὰ δὲ θήλεα ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς μᾶλλον. Galen omits (Medic. Graec. oper. ed. C. G. Kühn, xvii, pars i, 1828, p. 476) in his ὑπομνήματα to Hippocrates' ἐπιδήμια the section quoted above (ii. 6), but in a note to Hippocrates, De morb. vulgar. vi, he explains the reason for the belief as follows (Medic. Graec. oper. xvii, pars i, 1828, p. 1008–9): Διὰ τοῦτό φησι τὸ ἄρρεν στερεωτέρον τε καὶ χολωδέστερον καὶ ἐναιμότερον γενέσθαι διότι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ κύσσκεται τοιοῦτον ὑπάρχει. λέγει δὲ δηλονότι τὸν δεξιὸν κόλπον τῆς μήτρας. καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἄλλος ἄλλως γράφει. πάντες μέντοι τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν φυλάττονσι διότι καὶ τὸ λαν ἀκριβῶς ζητεῖν ὅποια τίς ἐστίν ἢ ὄντως Ἱπποκρά-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jolly, Medizin, in vol. iii of Bühler's Grundriss, §41, p. 55 (line 6 ff.).

τους λέξις περιττόν. ἄμεινον γὰρ οὐ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ λεγόμενον ἀληθές. ἡ δ' ἀλήθεια δια τῶν ἀνατομῶν, ὡς ἔφην, εὐρίσκεται τῶν ἀρρένων τοῦτιπᾶν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κόλπῳ τῆς μήτρας κῦσκομένων. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἡ αἰτία τοῦ θερμότερον εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴ διὰ τῆς ἀνατομῆς ἐγνωσμένη. According to the court-physician of the emperor Julianus Apostata (circa 350 A. D.) Oribasius, iii. 78 (M. Wellmann, *Fragmentsammlung der Griechischen Aerzte*, I, 1901, p. 199, no. 175), the belief goes back to Empedocles: συμφωνεῖ δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις τῆς παντελοῦς τῶν ἐμβρύων διακρίσεως καὶ ὁ φυσικὸς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ φησιν ὅτι θάσσον διαμορφοῦται τὸ ἄρρῆν τοῦ θήλεος καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δεξιῷ τῶν ἐν τοῖς εὐωνύμοις.<sup>1</sup>

The general notion that the right side is, in some way, connected with a male child, the left one with female offspring, seems to be rather general. See for India: Jolly, *Medizin*, 1901 (in Bühler's *Grundriss*) § 39, p. 50 (line 3 from bottom); § 40, p. 51 (line 9 from bottom); p. 52 (line 11); R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik*, 1902, p. 396 (bottom). For Greece: R. Fuchs, *Geschichte der Heilkunde bei den Griechen* (in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* hrsg. v. Neuburger und Pagel) I, 1902, p. 266, who refers to Hippocrates, *De morbis vulgar.* vi. 4 (Medic. Graec. opera ed. C. G. Kühn xxiii, 1827, p. 605) Τράγος ὁκότερος ἂν φανῇ ἔξω, ὄρχις δεξιὸς ἄρσεν, εἰ δὲ εὐώνυμος θήλυ; *De superfetatione* (Medic. Graec. opera ed. C. G. Kühn, xxi, 1825, p. 467) γυναικὶ χρὴ εἶδέναι τὸν μαζὸν ὁκότερός ἐστιν αὐτῇ μέζων, κείθι γὰρ τὸ ἐμβρυον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, ἔσται γὰρ μέζων καὶ λαμπρότερος τὸ πᾶν εἶσω τοῦ βλεφάρου ὁκότερος ἢ ὁ μαζὸς μέζων. For China: B. Scheube in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* I, 1902, p. 34 (a stronger right pulse indicates male, a stronger left pulse indicates female offspring).

### III. The legend of Svarbhānu (JB. i. 80-81).

The legend of Svarbhānu<sup>2</sup> (together with the mention of a gold-fee for some Ātreya in honor of the feat of his ancestor) is frequently referred to in the Brāhmaṇas: ŚB. iv. 3. 4. 21; v. 3. 2. 2; KB. xxiv. 3, 4; TS. ii. 1. 2. 1; Kāth. xi. 5; xii. 13;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Wellmann, *Fragmentsammlung der griechischen Aerzte* I (1901) p. 35; R. Fuchs in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, hrsg. v. Neuburger und Pagel I (1902) p. 266 (line 6 from bottom and ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. RV. v. 40; AV. ii. 10. 8.



xxvii. 2; xxviii. 4 (for the last two cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, iii, 1855, p. 465); TMB. iv. 5. 1; vi. 6. 8; xiv. 11. 14; xxiii. 16. 2; MS. ii. 1. 5 (p. 6); 5. 2 (p. 48). Cf. also GB. i. 2. 17.

The JB. version is as follows:

i. 80 . . . śvarbhānur<sup>1</sup> vā āsura ādityam tamasy āvidhyat.<sup>2</sup> tam devās ca ṛṣayaś cā 'bhiṣajyaṁs te<sup>3</sup> 'trim<sup>4</sup> abruvan<sup>5</sup> ṛṣe<sup>6</sup> tvam idam apajahī 'ti. tathe 'ti. tad atrir apāhaṁs te 'bruvan yo nas tamasā viddhebhyo<sup>7</sup> jyotir avidaj<sup>8</sup> jyotir asya bhāgadheyam astv iti. tad etad atrihiṛaṇyaṁ<sup>9</sup> hriyate śatamānaṁ ha sma<sup>10</sup> purā<sup>11</sup> hriyate<sup>12</sup> 'thai 'tarhi yāvad eva kiyaś ca dadati tad etad<sup>13</sup> dha<sup>14</sup> vāva sarveṣu lokeṣu jyotir yad dhiṛaṇyaṁ. sarveṣu lokeṣu jyotir dhatte ya evaṁ vidvān atrihiṛaṇyaṁ dadāti.

81. sa yat prathamam apāhan sā kṛṣṇā 'vir<sup>15</sup> abhavad yad dvitīyam apāhan sā dhūmrā 'vir abhavad yat tṛtīyam apāhan sā phalguny<sup>16</sup> avir abhavad. sa yaṁ kāmayeta pāpīyaṁ syād iti kṛṣṇam asya pavitre 'pyasyet<sup>17</sup> pāpīyaṁ eva bhavati. atha yaṁ kāmayeta nā 'rvān na paras<sup>18</sup> syād iti dhūmram<sup>19</sup> asya pavitre 'pyasyen nāi 'vā<sup>20</sup> 'rvān<sup>21</sup> na paro bhavati. atha yaṁ kāmayeta śrēyaṁ syād<sup>22</sup> rucam<sup>23</sup> aśnūvīte<sup>24</sup> 'ti phalgunam asya pavitraṁ kuryāc chreyān eva bhavati rucam<sup>25</sup> aśnute.

(TRANSLATION.)

Now Svarbhānu, an Āsura, threw the Sun into darkness. The gods and the ṛṣis tried to cure him. They said to Atri: "O ṛṣi, drive this (darkness) away from him."—"Yes."—Atri drove it away. They said: "Let light be his share who hath found light for us (who were) stricken with darkness." And thus Atri's gold is offered: Formerly namely it was customary to offer a śatamāna (gold piece weighing a hundred mānas<sup>26</sup>); and now how great and how large (a fee) they give, verily that is light in all the worlds, viz. the gold. He places light for himself in all the worlds who knowing thus gives Atri's gold.

<sup>1</sup> A. svargānu; B.C. svagānur.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. -aṇ.

<sup>3</sup> -to.

<sup>4</sup> trīm.

<sup>5</sup> B.C. bbrūvan.

<sup>6</sup> A. tṛṣe.

<sup>7</sup> A. viddhyebhyo.

<sup>8</sup> -da.

<sup>9</sup> A. atrirhir-

<sup>10</sup> B. inserts na.

<sup>11</sup> B. paraṁ.

<sup>12</sup> B. hridayate.

<sup>13</sup> A. eta; B. evad.

<sup>14</sup> A. dh.

<sup>15</sup> A. bhir; B. pir.

<sup>16</sup> B. phatśuny.

<sup>17</sup> B.C. pyaset.

<sup>18</sup> -a.

<sup>19</sup> B.C. dhūmam.

<sup>20</sup> A. rvā.

<sup>21</sup> A. vā.

<sup>22</sup> A. syām.

<sup>23</sup> A. om.

<sup>24</sup> A. aśrūpīyeta.

<sup>25</sup> A. rucam.

<sup>26</sup> On the śatamāna cf. Eggeling, SBE. xli. p. 104, note 3 and p. 141, note 2.

81. The first (darkness) which he drove away became a black sheep, the second which he drove away became a dark-colored sheep, the third which he drove away became a dark-red sheep. Now if he should wish anyone to become worse, let him insert something black in his strainer: he becomes worse; and if he should wish anyone to be neither near nor far, let him insert something dark-coloured in his strainer: he is neither near nor far; and if he should wish anyone to become better, to attain splendor, let him make his strainer dark-red: he becomes better, he attains splendor.

**IV. Indra, in the guise of a monkey, disturbs the sacrifice (JB. i. 363).**

The first book of the JB. closes with this story:

(i. 363.) atha ha vai nāimiśiyā<sup>1</sup> iti sattriṇas somaśuṣmagrhapatayas<sup>2</sup> sattraṁ niṣeduh. teṣāṁ mahendro vyardhayiṣyan<sup>3</sup> markatarūpeṇa<sup>4</sup> puroḍāśam pramamātha. atha hāi 'śām śitibāhur<sup>5</sup> āiśakṛto<sup>6</sup> 'dhvaryur anūcāna<sup>7</sup> āsa. sa hāi 'taṁ trayyāi vidyāyāi śukraṁ rasam prabṛdham<sup>8</sup> vidāṁ<sup>9</sup> cakāra sarvasya<sup>10</sup> ca<sup>11</sup> prāyaścittim<sup>12</sup> bhūr bhuvas svar ity etābhir<sup>13</sup> vyāhṛtibhir.<sup>14</sup> etā vai vyāhṛtayas sarvaprayāścittayas. tad yathā vā<sup>15</sup> adas samudro 'nanto 'pāro 'kṣito dyāvaprthivī sarva ime<sup>16</sup> lokā evaṁ vā etā<sup>17</sup> vyāhṛtayo 'kṣitā<sup>18</sup> (364) adugdhā anantā akṣarā<sup>19</sup> iti. tad yad vai bhūr<sup>20</sup> iti tad ayaṁ loko yad bhuva iti tad idam antarikṣaṁ yat suvar<sup>21</sup> iti tad asāu lokah. etā vai vyāhṛtaya etā vai<sup>22</sup> devatā etā<sup>23</sup> vyāhṛtaya iti. etad dha tadviduṣaś śitibāhor āiśakṛtasya nāimiśer markataḥ puroḍāśam pramamātha<sup>24</sup>. . .

<sup>1</sup> -ś- not -ṣ- is also the spelling of the TMB. xxv. 6. 4, 5; cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. I (1896) § 197, d, e.

<sup>2</sup> A. somasuṣtu-; C. somaśuṣthu-; D. somaśuṣma. <sup>3</sup> A.D. py-; C. cy-.

<sup>4</sup> C. markataḥkrtena. <sup>5</sup> C. śati-.

<sup>6</sup> A. eṣakrate; C. āiśakṛto; D. eṣakrator. <sup>7</sup> All mss. -ā.

<sup>8</sup> A. pravṛdham; C. prapratha; D. pravṛdham. <sup>9</sup> A. viṇḍāṁ.

<sup>10</sup> A.D. sarvaś-. <sup>11</sup> C. om. <sup>12</sup> C. -tti. <sup>13</sup> A.D. obhir; C. etā.

<sup>14</sup> C. -hṛtīr; D. -hṛtīr. <sup>15</sup> A.D. vā. <sup>16</sup> A.D. eme.

<sup>17</sup> A. etā; C. evam; D. etām. <sup>18</sup> A. -tā.

<sup>19</sup> For anantā akṣarā C. reads apārā; D. has aparā for akṣarā.

<sup>20</sup> C. har.

<sup>21</sup> So A.D.; C. svar as all mss. above; for a similar variation cf. JUB. iii. 14. 3. <sup>22</sup> C.D. om.

<sup>23</sup> D. etām; C. inserts here vā vedā eta.

<sup>24</sup> The text of what follows is corrupt and unclear.

## (TRANSLATION.)

363. The sattrins of Nāimīśa with Somaśusma as grhapati celebrated a sattra. Great Indra, desirous of spoiling it, in the shape of a monkey snatched away the sacrificial cake. Now their adhvaryu-priest, Śitibāhu Āiśakṛta, was a learned man. He, by means of the threefold knowledge, knew the bright soma-juice to have been snatched away<sup>1</sup> and the expiation for everything by means of these (sacred) exclamations, to wit, bhūr bhuvas svaḥ. For these (sacred) exclamations are an expiation for everything. Just as here the ocean is endless, infinite, imperishable, heaven and earth, all these worlds, even so these (sacred) exclamations are imperishable, (364) inexhaustible, endless syllables (elements). As for bhūs, that is this world; as for bhuvas, that is the air-space; as for suvar, that is yonder world. These are the (sacred) exclamations, these divinities are (identical with) these (sacred) exclamations. From Śitibāhu Āiśakṛta, the Nāimīśan, the monkey snatched away the sacrificial cake. . . .

The close similarity of this tale with ŚB. i. 6. 9-18 is patent. I subjoin the text of this latter passage with some changes which the wording of the commentary to the ŚB. and of the commentary to LŚS. iv. 11. 4 seems to suggest. Unless otherwise stated in the foot-notes the readings are those of Klemm's edition of the first prapāṭhaka of the ŚB.

SB. i. 6. 9. yajño<sup>2</sup> 'ham<sup>2</sup> iti<sup>2</sup> rājño<sup>3</sup> mitasya<sup>4</sup> markato 'nśūn ādāya vṛkṣam āpupruve. 10. sa hā 'ruṇir āhutim udyatyo<sup>5</sup> 'vāca punar vāi 'nān ni(r)vapsyasya<sup>6</sup> ato 'vāva mṛto vapsyasa<sup>7</sup> iti. 11. so ho 'vāca kiṁ hoṣyasī 'ti. 12. prāyaścittam<sup>8</sup> iti. 13.

<sup>1</sup> The verb pra + brh is used with reference to Soma in TS. iii. 3. 1 (tvā pra brhantu), MS. i. 3. 36 (p. 42, 10 ff. : tvā pra brhāmi); the JB. i. 78 uses prahantu in the corresponding yajus.

<sup>2</sup> The first three words are not in SB., but both in the commentary to ŚB. (which, however, reads rājño for yajño) and in the commentary to LŚS. <sup>3</sup> SB. adds ha.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the asya of the comment. LŚS. is for [mit]asya.

<sup>5</sup> The comment ŚB. reads utpadyo.

<sup>6</sup> SB. nivap-, comment. LŚS. nirvap-, comment. ŚB. vivap-.

<sup>7</sup> Jībānanda's text (Calcutta, 1881), and three of Klemm's (Das Śaḍ-viṁśabrahmaṇa, Gütersloh, 1894), mss. vapapsyasa, his other mss. vapsyasa, comment. ŚB. avapsyasi. Klemm (p. 79) conjectures avapatsyasa. <sup>8</sup> Comment. LŚS. -tim.

kim prāyaścittam<sup>1</sup> iti. 14. sarvaprāyaścittam<sup>1</sup> iti. 15. kim sarvaprāyaścittam<sup>1</sup> iti. 16. mahāvyaḥr̥tīr eva maghavann iti. sa ho 'vāca om ārunē yad āhutim anūciṣe katham nu vidām cakārtha markāto 'nśūn ādatte 'ti. 17. sa ho 'vāca yac ca 'vaga-tam yac cā 'navagatam sarvasyāi 'śai 'va prāyaścittir iti. 18. tasmād etām eva juhuyāt.

## (TRANSLATION.)

9. With the words: "I am the sacrifice," a monkey took the stalks of the measured out king (soma) and jumped on a tree. 10. Then Āruṇi, lifting up the oblation, said: "Verily, thou wilt throw them down again or dead thou wilt be scattered" (?). 11. He said: "What will thou offer?" 12. "An expiation." 13. "What kind of an expiation?" 14. "A universal expiation." 15. "What universal expiation?" 16. "The Great (Sacred) Exclamation, o Maghavan." He said: "Yea, O Āruṇi; as thou didst recite the āhuti how didst thou know that a monkey had taken the stalks?" 17. He said: "What is attended and what is not attended, for all this is the expiation. 18. Therefore he should offer this alone.—

This story forms a rather close parallel to the tale which describes Indra as drinking, in the shape of a ram, the soma of Medhātithi. Compare JB. ii. 79, medhātithē ha meṣo bhūtvā rājānam papāu, iii. 233, teṣām (scil. vibhindukīyānām) ha sme 'ndro medhātithē meṣasya rūpam kṛtvā somam vratayati. tam ha sma bādhatē medhātithē no meṣas somam vratayati 'ti. sa u ha smāi 'sām svam eva rūpam kṛtvā somam vratayati tato ha vā idam arvācīnam medhātithē meṣa ity āhvayanti. Sāyaṇa<sup>2</sup> on RV. i. 51. 1, Kaṇvaputram medhātithim yajamānam indro meṣarūpeṇā 'gatya tadīyam somam papāu. sa ṛṣis tam mesa ity avocat. ata idānim api mesa itī 'ndro 'bhidihiyate (with a reference to the subrahmaṇyā-chant).

A very similar tale of the itihāsavids is related by Sāyaṇa in his introduction to RV. x. 119. This hymn, he says, was used by Indra in order to recover his own shape after the ṛṣis had discovered him trying to drink the soma in the guise of a quail

<sup>1</sup> Comment LSS. -tim.

<sup>2</sup> Sāyaṇa probably based his statement on a passage of the lost Śāṭya-yana Brāhmaṇa, cf. Proceedings for April, 1895 (Journal, xvi) p. ccl f. For the two passages from the JB. cf. JAOS. xviii. p. 35 and p. 38.

(indro labarūpam āsthāya somapānam kurvan tadānīm ṛṣibhir dṛṣṭaḥ san svātmānam anena sūktenā 'stāvīt). The same story, in essentially the same words, is given by Śaḍguruśiṣya in his Vedārthadīpikā (p. 161 ed. Macdonell; *Anecd. Oxon.*, Aryan Series, vol. i, part iv, 1886).

Weber (*Indische Studien* ix, 1865, p. 38) conjectured that the former of these two tales originated in a misunderstanding of the figurative text RV. viii. 2. 40; "for in reality the verse does not contain anything except the request that Indra may come to Medātithi as a ram, i. e. with rich gifts." But I cannot persuade myself that this allegorical explanation comes any nearer the truth than Sāyaṇa's similar interpretation of RV. i. 32. 12, áśvyo vāro abhavas. Hillebrandt (*Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xiii, 1899, 317 ff.) has very properly shown that such metamorphoses<sup>1</sup> are part of Indra's māyā and are expressly referred to in passages like RV. iii. 53. 8 (rūpām rūpam maghāvā bobhavīti | māyāḥ kṛtvānās tanvām pári svām) and vi. 47. 18 (rūpām rūpam prátirūpo babbhūva | tād asya rūpam praticákṣaṇāya | índro māyābhiḥ pururūpa īyate). In the face of these, rather than try to explain them away, we should welcome such concrete instances as those in the stories given above. Similar is the tale in TĀr. i. 5. 2 in which Indra assumes the shape of an ant<sup>2</sup> in order to cut the string of a bow (tasye 'ndro vamrīrūpeṇa dhanurjyām acchinat). Here belongs also RV. i. 32. 12, áśvyo vāro abhavas tād indra ṣṛké yāt tvā pratyáhan.<sup>3</sup> No matter whether we agree with the details of Geldner's interpretation (*Vedische Studien* ii, 1897, p. 183) or not,<sup>4</sup> it is difficult to see how we can escape from assuming here a real transformation into a horse's tail-hair.<sup>5</sup>

The assumption, by Indra, of female shape was discussed above, p. 176, and the later literature would probably yield a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (1894) p. 266, for similar metamorphoses of evil spirits.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for other versions of this story, Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* iii (1902), p. 428 note. Hillebrandt, *ibid.*, p. 172 would connect this story with RV. i. 51. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The last two words of the verse, deva ekaḥ, probably belong to the next verse (Ludwig, *Rigveda*, v, 1883, p. 471, and Pischel, *Vedische Studien* ii, 1897, p. 91).

<sup>4</sup> Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 138, with note 3.

<sup>5</sup> This is also Hillebrandt's view (*Vedische Mythologie*, iii, 1902, p. 172).

number of parallels, such as Indra's transformation into a cat (Kathāsaritśāgara, xvii. 114) or into a peacock<sup>1</sup> (Rāmāyaṇa, vii. 18, cf. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 1893, p. 193).

With respect to his power of assuming any shape, Indra (cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii, 1878, p. 317, § 8) is the counterpart of the Greek Proteus (Preller, Griech. Myth., 4th ed., i (1894) p. 609 f), and the Roman Vertumnus. Compare, for instance MBh. xiii. 2275 ff. Calc. (=40. 29 ff. Bomb.) with Ovid, Metam. xiv. 642 ff., Fasti vi. 409, Propert. iv. 2. 20, Tibull. iv. 2. 13.—In mediæval literature the Egyptian magician Nectanabus (see above p. 187) plays a similar rôle; cf., for instance, Gower's Confessio Amantis v. 6670 ff. 'And thanne I wisshe that I were | Als wys as was Nectanabus | Or elles as was Protheüs, | That couthen bothe of nigromaunce | In what liknesse, in what semblaunce | Riht as hem liste, hemself transforme.—In the Mbh. (vii. 102. 13=3817) Duryodhana is kāmārūpin.

**V. The Lex talionis in the other world. (A parallel to JB. i. 43.)**

The view expressed in Manu v. 55 (mām sa bhakṣayitā 'mutra yasya māmśam ihā 'dmy aham) is usually paralleled by the second sight of Bhṛgu (JB. i. 42 ff.; JAOS. xv, 1891, p. 234 ff.) where we are told: ye vā asmin loke 'gnihotram ajuhvato nāi 'vaṁvidah paśūn ākrandayataḥ pacante tān vā amuṣmin loke paśavaḥ puruṣarūpaṁ kṛtvā pratyadanti. A second Vedic passage may be added, viz. KB. xi. 3: tad yathā ha vā asmiṁl loke manuṣyāḥ paśūn aśnanti yathāi 'bhir bhuñjata evam evā 'muṣmiṁl loke paśavo manuṣyān aśnanti evam ebhir bhuñjate. sa enān iha prātaranuvākenā 'varunddhe tam ihā 'varuddhā amuṣmiṁl loke nā 'śnanti nāi 'nena pratibhuñjate yathāi 'vāi 'nān asmiṁl loke 'śnāti (L: nā 'śnāti) yathāi 'bhir bhuñkta evam evāi 'nān amuṣmiṁl loke 'śnāty evam ebhir bhuñkte.

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<sup>1</sup> Here the gods Yama, Kubera, and Varuṇa also assume animal shapes.